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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	PFIP-01	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01
	HA-09	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00
	NSCE-00	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01	P-01	RP-10
	SNP-01	SP-01	SS-01	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	/038W

-----5AF00B 280938Z /38

P 280933Z AUG 92  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1619  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 03596

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, PGOV, RW  
SUBJECT: ARUSHA III

REF: KIGALI 3503

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 03596 01 OF 02 280937Z  
2. FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA INITIATED PLANNING  
FOR ARUSHA III WITH A CONSULTATION WITH POLITICAL  
PARTIES AND CHURCH LEADERS. THE KEY QUESTION IS  
GOING TO BE HOW TO HANDLE DEMANDS FOR CHANGES IN THE  
CONSTITUTION. A NEW PROTOCOL MAY BE THE ANSWER. PL  
LEADER MUGENZI PROPOSES NEGOTIATIONS MOVE TO KIGALI.  
RPF MEMBERS OF THE GOMN HAVE ARRIVED IN KIGALI. RPF  
HAS REQUESTED MEETING IN KAMPALA BETWEEN KAGAME AND  
FRENCH AMBASSADOR, AND OTHER MEETINGS WITH FRENCH IN  
PARIS AND BRUSSELS. WE URGE RAWSON TO VISIT KIGALI

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE

REVIEW  
AUTHORITY: ROBERT R. STRAND

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EN ROUTE TO ARUSHA III. END SUMMARY.

PREPARATIONS FOR ARUSHA III  
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3. FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA HAD A MEETING AUGUST 26 WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CHURCH AND OF THE PARTIES IN PREPARATION FOR THE NEXT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS AT ARUSHA. PRESENT WERE THE BISHOP OF KABGAYI, THE PRESIDENTS OF PL AND PDC, AND REPRESENTATIVES FROM MDR AND PSD (THE PERMANENT COMMISSION CONSTITUTED TO OVERSEE PREPARATION OF RWANDA'S NEGOTIATING POSITION). THE MRND DID NOT SHOW UP BUT PRESUMABLY WAS REPRESENTED BY A SECOND LEVEL OFFICIAL FROM THE PRESIDENCY. ACCORDING TO PL PRESIDENT MUGENZI, THE DAY WAS LARGELY SPENT IN A DIALOGUE BETWEEN MUGENZI AND NGULINZIRA. NGULINZIRA TOLD ME IT WAS AN INTERESTING DAY BUT HAD NO FURTHER COMMENT.

4. MUGENZI TOLD NGULINZIRA THAT NOW THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAD SIGNED AN AGREEMENT WITH THE RPF FOR A  
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GOVERNMENT WHICH EXCLUDES PARTIES BASED ON ETHNICITY, HE HAD AN OBLIGATION TO ELIMINATE THE CDR.

5. MUGENZI ALSO TOLD NGULINZIRA THAT HE, THE FOREIGN MINISTER, COULD NOT REPRESENT RWANDA IN A MEETING IN WHICH THE FUNDAMENTAL BASIS OF THE FUTURE SOCIETY WOULD BE NEGOTIATED. MUGENZI INSISTED THAT PARTY LEADERS BE INCLUDED ON THE NEGOTIATING DELEGATION. ALTHOUGH I AGREED WITH MUGENZI THAT THE NEGOTIATORS MUST REPRESENT ALL THE PARTIES PARTICIPATING IN THE GOVERNMENT, I TOLD HIM I QUESTION WHETHER IT IS NECESSARY FOR THE PARTIES TO BE REPRESENTED ON THE NEGOTIATING TEAM. I THEN PRESSED HIM TO COME UP WITH A MEANS OF DEVELOPING A GOVERNMENT-WIDE POSITION FOR THE NEXT ARUSHA ROUND ON POWER SHARING.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION  
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6. MUGENZI OPENED THIS PART OF THE DISCUSSION BY AGAIN INSISTING THAT THE CONSTITUTION MUST BE CHANGED IN ORDER TO FACILITATE THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE RPF (REFTEL). HE SAID HE HAD AGREED TO ACCEPT THE

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CONSTITUTION IN THE APRIL PROTOCOL, BUT "WILL NOT MAKE THAT MISTAKE AGAIN". AFTER CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION, HE CAME UP WITH THE PROPOSITION THAT THE PARTIES SHOULD DRAFT A NEW PROTOCOL, CHANGING THE APRIL PROTOCOL, AND THAT THAT COULD BE THE BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE RPF RATHER THAN CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE.

7. IN A SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION WITH DIRECTOR OF THE  
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 PRESIDENT'S CABINET, ENOCH RUHIGIRA, ENOCH ALSO RAISED HE CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION, EXPRESSING PROFOUND HOPE THAT NOBODY WILL INSIST ON CHANGING THE CONSTITUTION AS A PRELUDE TO NEGOTIATIONS. I WILL EXPLORE THE QUESTION FURTHER WITH HIM TOMORROW, BUT GOT THE IMPRESSION TODAY THAT HE AND THE PRESIDENT COULD ALSO WORK WITH ADJUSTMENTS TO THE PROTOCOL IN PREPARATION FOR ARUSHA III.

8. IN HIS MEETING WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER, MUGENZI SUGGESTED THAT THE CONTINUATION OF THE TALKS ON POWER

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AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 KIGALI 03596

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
TAGS: PREL, MOPS, PGOV, RW  
SUBJECT: ARUSHA III

SHARING FOLLOWING THE INITIAL MEETING IN ARUSHA  
SEPTEMBER 7 SHOULD BE MOVED TO KIGALI. HIS  
OBJECTIVE, OF COURSE, IS TO GET THE PARTIES CLOSER TO  
THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE SAID HE HAS TALKED TO THE  
FRENCH AMBASSADOR ABOUT PROVIDING SECURITY FOR A  
CONTINUING NEGOTIATION IN KIGALI. HE BELIEVES THAT  
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NOW THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS ACKNOWLEDGED THE PRESENCE  
IN RWANDA OF RPF UNITS, THAT THEY COULD SIMPLY REOPEN  
THE TELEPHONE LINES TO PARTS OF THE COMMUNE OF  
MUVUMBA TO ENABLE RPF NEGOTIATORS IN KIGALI TO REMAIN  
IN CONSTANT TOUCH WITH THEIR LEADERS IN THE MUVUMBA  
AREA. HE ASKED FOR OUR PARTICIPATION WITH THE FRENCH  
IN PROVIDING SECURITY FOR RPF NEGOTIATORS. I HAD TO  
TELL HIM THAT WE HAD NO MEANS OF PROVIDING SECURITY  
IN KIGALI FOR ANYBODY. FURTHERMORE, IF HE HAS SOUGHT  
THE SUPPORT OF THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR, IT WOULD BE A  
MATTER BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND THE RWANDANS, NOT  
SOMETHING IN WHICH THE FRENCH WOULD SEEK OR WELCOME  
AMERICAN ADVICE. NEVERTHELESS, IF THE SUBJECT IS  
RAISED BY AMBASSADOR MARTRES, I WILL NOT BAD MOUTH  
THE IDEA.

THE RPF IN KIGALI

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9. ACTUALLY THE RPF HAS ALREADY BEEN SEEN IN KIGALI,

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ARRIVING YESTERDAY IN THE PRESENCE OF GENERAL  
OPALEYE. TWO OF THE SEVEN MEMBER DELEGATION SHOWED  
UP AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY, APPARENTLY UNESCORTED,  
LOOKING FOR PEOPLE TO TALK TO.

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5#-5 23 297)\$, OF COURSE, INVITE THE FRENCH EMBASSY  
TO PARTICIPATE. HE THEN TOLD ME THAT THE FRENCH HAVE  
RECEIVED A SIMILAR REQUEST IN PARIS AND AN  
UNPRECEDENTED REQUEST FROM KAGAME TO MEET WITH THE  
FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN KAMPALA. HE WAS VERY ENCOURAGED  
BY BOTH THE RPF INTEREST IN SEEING THE FRENCH AND THE  
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ARRIVAL OF THE RPF IN KIGALI.

11. I INFORMED RUHIGIRA OF THE RPF REQUEST TO MEET  
WITH US AGAIN IN WASHINGTON. FOR SOME REASON HE WAS  
OVERJOYED BY THIS PROSPECT AND ENCOURAGED TO BELIEVE  
THAT WITH THAT EVIDENCE OF RPF SERIOUSNESS, THE  
NEGOTIATIONS COULD SUCCEED.

ACTION REQUEST  
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12. IF THE RPF DOES REACH WASHINGTON FOR ANOTHER  
ROUND OF DISCUSSIONS BEFORE ARUSHA III, I BELIEVE IT  
IS IMPORTANT FOR DAVID RAWSON TO COME TO KIGALI EN  
ROUTE TO ARUSHA IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN OUR POSTURE OF  
BALANCE.

COMMENT  
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13. THE CONTINUED OBSERVANCE OF THE CEASEFIRE IS THE  
BASELINE FOR RELATIVE OPTIMISM ON THE PEACE PROCESS,  
AND THE RPF EFFORTS IN WASHINGTON AND PARIS ARE ALSO  
ENCOURAGING TO THE FRENCH AND THE RWANDANS.  
NEVERTHELESS, RWANDANS AND DIPLOMATS HERE KNOW THAT  
THE NEXT ROUND IS GOING TO BE VERY DIFFICULT, AND  
MOST DOUBT THAT THEY WILL COMPLETE THE NEGOTIATIONS  
BY THE OCTOBER 10 DEADLINE.

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